Beyond the Alamo®

Neighborhood Discovery Tours
Guidebook copy:

West Side / Murals

DRAFT

Revised May 24, 2002

Neighborhood Discoveries – El Westside

This tour guide to one of San Antonio's unique neighborhoods is different than what you will find in hotel lobbies and visitor centers. More anthropological than commercial, it makes no claim to be the definitive guide to the "best of" anything. Instead, this is a tour made up of detours to the well-trodden tourist trail. We invite you to take this side road with us into some of San Antonio's overlooked, undervalued or simply unknown culturally-rich neighborhoods.

Within these pages you will find an introduction to the history as well as a contemporary exploration of some of the reasons the area is important to the larger San Antonio story. But, it cannot contain all there is to know. Hopefully the stories and history visited here will inspire you to come back and make some true discoveries of your own.

Beyond the Alamo

Location, location, location. The old business axiom holds true for the earliest history of San Antonio. When a group of Spanish settlers needed a camp for their first expedition some 300 years ago, they picked a spot midway between the settled parts of Northern

Mexico and the French controlled towns of East Texas. That point is near where present South Loop 410 crosses the San Antonio River. Coahuiltecan, Payay, Lipan Apache and other native peoples already enjoyed this fertile river valley-a land they called "Yanaguana." Nevertheless, the Spanish chose to call it San Antonio de Padua in honor of their arrival on this saint's celebrated day. In late April of 1719, Governor Don Martin de Alarcon led some 72 Spaniards to the area to stay. Father Antonio de Buenaventura Olivares arrived soon after to establish the Mission San Antonio De Valero. We know this mission as the Alamo.

Today the Alamo is indeed "remembered" in history, myth, heart and controversy. Tourists come to San Antonio from throughout the world to see the legendary structure. But the story of San Antonio stretches far beyond those cool stone walls.

El Westside

Corn tortillas for a penny each.
Made by an aged woman
and her mothe.r
Cooked on the homeblack of a flat stove,
Flipped to slap birth awake.
Wrapped by corn hands.
Toasted morning light and dancing history-
earth gives birth to corn gives birth to man
gives birth to earth.
Corn tortillas – penny each.
No tax.

-Carmen Tafolla

The site of the 1836 Battle of the Alamo continues to draw visitors from around the world to downtown San Antonio. But this icon to Texas patriotism evokes mixed feelings in the hearts of many Mexican Americans. The legendary conflict between Texan and Mexican forces continues to be memorialized, demoralized, lionized and analyzed. Notwithstanding these cultural and moral debates about the history and significance of the Alamo, visitors still flock to San Antonio specifically to experience the history and culture of Mexico, the former "enemy" that so richly permeates this city's personality.

There is no place better to learn about San Antonio's roots as the "gateway to Mexico" than on the Westside. But rather than impose traditional tourist values on the cultural uniqueness of the Westside, this tour hopes to explore what existing neighborhood institutions and residents value and why. What has been created in this vibrant place to sustain Mexican culture? How have the arts reflected community identity? How has the community been affected by the arts? Hopefully, within this Neighborhood Discovery Tour Guide you will find both an historical portrait and a contemporary exploration of some of the reasons why this area is important to the larger San Antonio story. It cannot

contain all there is to know; however, the people and places visited here will inspire you to come back and head across the long bridge west.

Panaderia Paradise

Any day of exploration should begin with some sustenance. The best place to start is at any one of the *panaderías* (bakeries) scattered throughout the Westside. In an age when most baked goods come from a massive grocery-store case, these family-run *panaderías* persist in turning out hand-made baked goods daily. As University of Texas at San Antonio President, Ricardo Romo, writes in his essay, *An Insider's View of the Westside*, "Nearly every Mexicano barrio in San Antonio had its bakery. We took pride in ours – La Superior, one of the best on the Westside. Located only a half block from our house, this bakery was the first business to open in the mornings, at 6:00 a.m. La Superior offered a striking variety of Mexican pastries, such as *pan de huevo* (egg bread) and *empanadas* (turnovers.) Many of the varieties came in shapes made completely recognizable by their names: *marranitos* (little pigs), *gusanos* (worms), *cuernos* (horns)."

La Superior is no more, but you can still choose between an endless number of equally rich, local and legendary establishments. Near the historic Guadalupe Theater is La Poblana (1227 El Paso.) Head farther west on Guadalupe Street to Zarazamora and pick up gingerbread men with raisin eyes at La Poblanita (2411 N. Zarzamora) or *pan dulce* at Lux Bakery (6402 S. Zarzamora.) And don't miss the melt-in-your-mouth *cuernos de mantequilla* at the Fiesta Bakery (5022 W. Commerce) or anything at Bedoy's #1, (602 NW 24th St.) which has been open since 1961.

A newer arrival to the Westside baking scene is Eric Lee's Bakery (1828 W. Martin.) But don't expect the traditional offerings of a classic Westside *panadería*. Born and raised on the Westside, Eric Lee Dromgoole got his start baking a Red Devil's Food Cake at age 12 and never stopped. Countless cakes later (not to mention a stint cooking in the army, two years as pastry chef at La Mansion and a degree from the California Culinary Academy) he returned home to San Antonio to open his own shop. With all respect to legendary neighborhood bakeries, Dromgoole says he just wanted to give the neighborhood "something different." Different means everything from delicate French deserts to jalepeño biscuits to flaky apple turnovers. He has received both, "boos" from traditionalists and "hoorays" from those who are just glad not to drive to the northside for French pastries. But neither group disputes the culinary talent and commitment of this "homeboy" making good back in the neighborhood. Dromgoole is also giving the neighborhood youth a space to hangout and shout out their poetry. Together with the Xicana Xicano Education Project, Eric Lee's hosts *Raza poetry* and open mic nights on a regular basis. The owner also offers his wall space for artwork by nearby Fox Tech High School students. "Kids so often think they need to go somewhere else to make things happen," says Dromgoole, who speaks from experience. "But you can make things happen right here."

Las Carpas

…the adventures, the bitterness, the disappointments, the dreams, well, [it was] all that and more." -Rodolfo Garcia

Indeed, much has happened right here. Besides *panaderías*, a ride down Guadalupe Street will still take the visitor by a myriad of *barrio* (neighborhood) landmarks including flower shops, *cantinas* (bars,) colorful wall murals and churches. According to Jorge Piña, Westside native and former director of the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center's Theatre Program, a similar ride taken some 70 years ago would have revealed as many as 25 *carpas* (Mexican tent shows) set up on the stretch between Brazos and Zarzamora Streets alone.

The *carpas* are thought to have originated with the acrobatic, clowning tradition of Aztecs after the Spanish conquest. However, the groups were also influenced by similar European circus acts that came to Mexico in the 19th century. During the Mexican Revolution many of the Mexican circus companies relocated to Texas. When a *carpa* arrived in San Antonio, the troupe would send a representative out to *agarrar el lugar* (find a place, usually an empty lot) to set up. Then members would do a *convite* (inviting) by driving around the Westside playing music and getting the word out about the show, which could include everything from comedy to acrobatics to magic. Most performers in these versatile troupes made all the elements of their own costumes and had to be able to do all acts in order to replace fellow performers in an emergency.

Three prominent *carpas* in San Antonio were *Carpa Cubana*, *Carpa Mongivais*, and *Carpa Garcia*. Rodolfo "Diamond" García, one popular member of the Carpa García, aimed his act towards a growing Mexican American audience. Known as El Wise Guy del West Side or *El Vato Suave* (the cool dude,) García started performing in a street dialect known as *cálo***.** His act gave hard-working audiences a chance to laugh and validated the Spanglish that was quickly becoming the *lengua franca* of the area.

By the 1930's, the Great Depression and the emergence of "talkies" hurt Spanish language entertainment. This time is also known as *La Epoca de Oro* (Golden Age) of Mexican cinema and many *carpa* performers survived by doing acts during cinema intermissions. In the years following WWII and the Korean War, the neighborhood began to decline. *La Carpa García* finally called it quits in 1947. The children of these original *carpa* families eventually found new work and most of the shows ended by the 1950's. In the 1960's and 70's, the spirit of the touring acts was revived by Chicanos who transformed the community-focused entertainment of the *carpas* into the populist theater of Teatro Chicano.

Jorge Piña got involved in *Teatro Chicano* as a teenager in San Antonio. He recalled, "We would take it around to parks and senior center places and the old people would hug me and say, 'you are just like the *carpas*.'" With roots in *Teatro Campesino*, the theater

troupe that accompanied Cesar Chavez during the farm-workers' movement in California, *Teatro Chicano* has its root in the social justice movement. After participating in theater companies in California and Houston, Piña joined the Guadalupe and developed Grupo Animo, the youth theater company of the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center. "If you ask how our works responded to the community or were shaped by it, I'm not sure I could answer," said Piña. "I could never separate the two. It was one and the same. Our community was on the stage depicting community issues."

Los Pastores

Just off of Guadalupe Street at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, a different kind of theater keeps history alive. *Los Pastores*, the play of the Shepherds journey to see Jesus, is thought to have originated when the first Franciscan priests blended their Christian traditions with the existing ceremonies and solemn rights of the Native peoples into educational theater. Often called miracle plays and mysteries, these religious dramas first developed at the end of the Middle Ages. The play varies slightly in different communities, but in general the tradition begins sometime before Christmas. Lanterns are hung out to represent the Star of Bethlehem and the coming of Christ (symbolizing the Light of the World.) The performance opens with singing or chanting by a chorus of Shepherds. As the play progresses, Joseph is selected as the Virgin Mary's husband and they begin the journey to Bethlehem looking for a place to stay. All the while the Shepherds chant, tell stories and interpret the meanings of the various scenes. The message is a common Christian one of virtue and vice but in the early centuries the Catholic church forbade Christians to attend such theatrical representations which the church deemed sacreligious. Before Vatican II, performances of the plays were also frowned upon within the church walls. Hence, the *Pastores* took place in driveways, yards and on the streets throughout the Westside. But by the 1930s the main *Pastores* presentation and procession were performed at the Chapel of Miracles near the Alamo. Today, the group base at Our Lady of Guadalupe is the only one to do a complete *Pastorela* of its own.

Gibert Perez, who directs *Los Pastores* at the church says, "A true *Pastorela* is eight and a half hours long. Nowadays you don't do the whole enchilada. We've got it down to three hours, just the important parts. When I was young I would watch it from a tree. But I'd get sleepy and have to climb down. I never saw the end of it." Perez grew up on nearby Richter St. in the 1920's and remembers the old days when the *Pastorela* was enjoyed by all the people. "They really took it to heart. They presented it to different missions. There were lots of players, mostly men so you had to vie for positions. Back then it was wonderful. But the war changed a lot of people, changed the area."

The group begins practicing every Sunday beginning in the end of September and performs every Saturday and Sunday from December to January. There is one big performance every year at the missions and a special Christmas eve service at the church with tamales and sweet breads. Said Perez, "We do it everywhere from churches to

driveways usually only for a church donation and supper." Players from different churches come here to participate in Our Lady of Guadalupe's production, but Perez still laments that the tradition might die with him. "It is harder to get young people to perform now. Every year we don't know how it's going to do, but like they say, we just leave it to the baby Jesus. My own children have started to join, and they help a lot. We have to keep it alive. If we drop it, that's it for the tradition here in San Antonio."

A Diverse People

Guadalupe Street, once part of the Old Pecos Trail heading to El Paso, was the cultural center and point of entry for most Mexican immigrants settling in San Antonio during the early part of the 20th century. Here were moving-picture theaters, the *Nacional* and *Zaragosa*, the leading Spanish newspaper *La Prensa* (which still continues to publish a only Spanish newspaper in the city). All these local businesses retained ties to political doings in "old Mexico," in addition to restaurants, bookstores and grocery stores. New immigrants came from different geographical regions of Mexico to settle in what became known as the Latin Quarter. Although a diverse population, the experience of the Mexican Revolution as well as the approximate similarities in culture, religion and language bound them as a community with a strong identity. But as with most long-lasting immigrant communities, families eventually settled into diverse lives within three main classes: manual laborers consumed with sustenance living, family and fiestas; middle class workers who assimilated to American culture; and *los ricos*, or the rich, who remained emotionally and fiscally tied to Mexico.

What is now known as the Guadalupe Neighborhood is bordered by Zarzamora, Buena Vista, Brazos and El Paso streets. Once called Prospect Hill, the area was established as a working class Anglo settlement in the early 1900s and was populated by mostly German, Scotch and Irish railroad workers. Immigrants seeking refuge from the Mexican Revolution first came to the area by the railroad to seek jobs in the cattle industry. In addition to increasing Mexican migration, many Mexican American families who remained in Texas after it became part of the United States moved to this area from downtown in the early 1900s.

A 1981 *San Antonio Express-News* Article entitled "Awakening Guadalupe's Ghost" harkens back to the heyday of *Calle Guadalupe* and lists the popular songs in the early 1900's that celebrated the area's ongoing ties with Mexico. "*La Adelita*," one of these songs told of a legendary woman who joined troops in the revolution. According to García, a San Antonio native and actor in his parents' *Carpa García*, another popular song was "*La Cucaracha*," a ballad sung during the revolution to poke fun at the forces of General Carranza. The early 20th century working class, who sometimes referred to themselves as Chicanos sang the corrido entitled "*El Chicano*," which dealt with the theme of acculturation and included the words…*I am going my dear friends. Let's all shake hands. Even though I'll be in the United States, I won't deny that I am Mexican*.

La Música del Westside

The Westside of San Antonio is known for its legacy of musicians and other artistas that either are from these streets west of downtown or lived here during their professional careers. The music ranges from rancheras and boleros from Rosíta Fernández and Lydia Mendoza to the West Side Horns, one of the best examples of Chicano San Anto blues in the city. One can't forget to mention the Tejano and Conjunto stars that have walked these streets and jammed at late-night clubs until the wee hours of the morning.

Las Mujeres – The Women

Known as "San Antonio's First Lady of Song," Rosíta Fernández began her singing career in the late 1920's with her uncles. In 1936 she became the lead in the first radio broadcasts on the Texas Quality Network, then represented locally by WOAI. She then began recording records with labels such as, RCA Bluebird, Decca, Brunswick, Falcon, Ideal, and Sombrero. In October 1949, she was selected to appear on San Antonio's first television broadcast on WOAI-TV. Originally from Monterrey, Mexico, *Doña Rosita,* as she is also called by her fans, is probably best known for her performances in "Fiesta Noche del Rio," the longest-running show (26 seasons) at the Arneson River Theatre in La Villita. In fact, the bridge along the Riverwalk that leads to the stage of the Theatre is named "Rosita's Bridge" in honor of her contributions to and support of the production. A children's book published in December 2001 called, Doña Rosita's Bridge, tells the story of the production and the naming of the bridge in honor of Fernández. *Doña Rosita* is one of the few artists in Texas-Mexican music to appear in numerous films including: "The Alamo," with John Wayne; "Sancho the Homing Steer," a Disney production in which she played the lead role and "Seguin." She was inducted into the San Antonio Musicians Hall of Fame (1979), San Antonio Women's Hall of Fame (1984), and Tejano Music Hall of Fame (1992).

A contemporary of Rosíta Fernández, Lydia Mendoza, the *la alondra de la frontera* ("the lark of the border"), accompanied herself on her twelve-string guitar and was considered by many as a creative and artful interpreter of Mexican folk music such as *rancheras* and *boleros*. Her first recordings date back to 1928 when she was a member of her family-based *Cuartero Carta Blanca*, which her mother managed. She is one of the earliest recognized Tejana singers and her career spanned up to forty years. Two of her most famous singles were "*Mal Hombre*" ("Cold-Hearted Man"), and "*Delgadina*." For her great contributions to Tejano music, she was honored in 1982 with a National Heritage Award from the National Endowment for the Arts, inducted into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame in 1985, and became the first Tejana admitted into the Conjunto Hall of Fame in 1991. When Mendoza passed away in 2001, nearly 2,500 people came to a *velorio* (rosary) at Milam Park in her honor.

Chicano Blues – Westside Style

In addition to Conjunto, Tejano, and Mexican folk music, the Westside is home to *puro* Chicano blues. Bands such as the West Side Horns, the OBG (Oldies But Goodies) Band,

and musicians like Randy Garibay and Spot Barnett still play at local Westside dives where you can hear some of the most original Chicano blues in the country. The sound of these bands is a fusion of the *Orquesta*-type horns played by local bands in the 1930's and 40's and the rock-n-roll music of the 1950's and 1960's. Check the club listings in the local paper to find out where you can hear these bands jam out.

Conjunto – Together as One

It is hard to drive down a street big or small without the familiar bounce of an accordion driven *ranchera* or *corrido* meeting your ears. It is a sound that is probably in the mortar of Westside bricks and in the screws that hold porches together. *Conjunto* is the sound of a people, past, present and future. Ask Juan Tejeda, former longtime director of the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center's Xicano music program and a San Antonio native. Tejeda organized the first Tejano/*Conjunto* Music Festival in 1980. He calls conjunto music "the original Tejano music created by Chicanos from Texas using a hybrid of influences."

The most important influence is that of the button accordion that was brought to the area by German, Czech and Polish immigrants in the mid-late 1800's. One story holds that legendary Texas accordion player Flaco Jimenez' grandfather Patricio bought his first accordion in the early 1900's from a German in New Braunfels – this cultural exchange began the famous Jimenez accordion tradition on the Westside. According to Tejeda, "We also adopted the rhythms that came along with the button accordion and made them our own, all the waltzes and polkas. Besides that, it was relatively cheap and one person could accompany himself." These days Conjunto refers to the group or ensemble, in most cases a button accordion, bajo sexto, elecric base and dance band drum set, as well as the music that these groups play.

As *Conjunto* thrived in the Mexican cantinas and dance halls through the 40's and 50's, more well-to-do Westsiders were experiencing the sounds of *Orquesta Tejana* in ballrooms and at highbrow social functions. The *Orquesta* was really a scaled down big band that played songs in English and included Mexican boleros and danzón. According to Tejeda, "*Orquesta* became identified with an assimilating and acculturating middle class while the expression of Conjunto stayed tied to rural and working class people." According to The Billboard Guide to Tejano and Regional Music by Ramino Burr, the two traditions continued to grow more similar in style. The resulting hybrid is what most people think of as Tejano music today. As the popularity of this Mexican-Texan genre grew, record companies took notice and helped fuel the "Tejano explosion" of the late 1980s. Regardless of what name is given to the sounds floating from Westside car windows and doorways, the idea of *conjunto*, of coming together to make the music of the people, persists.

The Tejano Conjunto Festival which Tejeda began continues to draw tens of thousands of music lovers from around the world to Rosedale Park each spring. Says Tejeda,

"Conjunto was strong community music that identified the working class people between the 30's and 60's. It was a response to changes in society, a resistance to losing a working class/Mexican identity in the face of Anglo domination and a Mexican middle class looking down on them. The festival was a direct way to contradict those negative associations about that working class music and in turn, the people who make it. We wanted to recognize, showcase and educate about this unique art form."

Avenida Guadalupe

Another festival on the Westside is the *Diez y Seis* (Sept. 16th) parade sponsored by the Avenida Guadalupe Association. This celebration of Mexican Independence from Spain begins on the corner of Brazos and Guadalupe and includes everyone from Girl Scouts to ROTC cadets to voting registration workers who walk, dance, play and shout their way to Our Lady of the Lake University. Indeed, the 3.1 mile parade draws about 75,000 spectators annually and begins it's route with the traditional "*El Grito*" in honor of the cry on September 15, 1810 by Father Miguel Hidalgo who issued a call to arms in Dolores, Mexico. In Mexico, the *fiestas patrias*, or Patriotic Festivals continue throughout the month of September. And San Antonio is where, on September 27, 1821, Antonio Martinez inaugurated Mexican Independence, two months before insurgents moved south toward central Mexico. Avenida Guadalupe, a 22-year-old organization located on *Calle Guadalupe* uses the proceeds from the yearly festival that accompanies the parade to support their community development efforts. Executive Director, Roger Carrillo, spoke about the symbolism of the parade, "We use the independence of Mexico from Spain to symbolize the independence of people moving from poverty to a better way of life." Avenida Guadalupe has long been working towards providing this better way of life for Westside residents. Formed by church leaders, community activists and neighborhood residents in 1989 to revitalize a once vibrant Westside corridor, Avenida renovated the colorful Hispanic-oriented post-modern buildings that rim Guadalupe Plaza. Some of their other community development projects include the San Jacinto Elderly Housing Complex and the renovation of the Progresso Theater.

Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center

The Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center (GCAC) is both a beacon to the neighborhoods that surround it and a bridge to greater San Antonio. What many call the "jewel of the Westside" first organized in the late 1970's with a mission "to preserve and promote Chicano art and artists." According to Pedro Rodriguez, former GCAC Executive Director, the Guadalupe evolved as a response to the cultural richness that had always existed on the Westside. "That neighborhood has produced more world class flamenco and ballet folklorico dancers than anywhere in the United States. From the beginning, the area was full of carpas, theater, mariachi in addition to rock-n-roll and conjunto bar music. You already had a bubbling culture. We needed to provide a venue and support."

The early development of the center was also spurred by changes in city politics.

In 1977, San Antonio created single member City Council districts. Newly elected representatives in several districts provided a necessary and overdue Hispanic voice on City Council. These voices pushed for city arts funding that recognized Hispanic artists. Centro Cultural del Pueblo was one of the first Hispanic groups to get city funding. They then banded with several other arts organizations to form what was called SACHA,San Antonio Consortium for Hispanic Arts. Only one collective, PAN, Performance Artists Nucleus, had nonprofit status and thus became the umbrella organization for SACHA. Some members were meeting in the Progresso Drug Store (now the Guadalupe's administrative offices) across from the historic Guadalupe Theater. At the time the theater was a flea market and flophouse. Eventually, PAN moved into the building both for historical reasons and the inexpensive rent. Juan Tejeda suggested changing the name to the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center in 1981 after the groups received a lease option to buy the theater. After a few changes in leadership, Pedro Rodriguez came on board. According to Rodriguez, the challenges the artists faced in sustaining a major arts organization were nothing new for Westsiders. "After years of segregation and marginalization by the city, we were used to having to create things on our own."

Still located in the heart of an 85% Hispanic Westside neighborhood, the complex now includes the 400-seat Guadalupe Theater, the restored Progresso Drugstore, the Cesar Chavez Education Center and the Visual Arts Annex. Events include a yearly Tejano Conjunto Festival en San Antonio that draws some 35,000 visitors from around the world; CineFestival, the longest running Chicano film festival in the nation; the Inter-American Bookfair & Literary Festival; Hecho-a Mano, a fine arts and fine crafts market; regular plays by the resident youth theatre company, GRUPO ANIMO; a Performing Arts Series and productions featuring the Guadalupe Dance Company. In addition, the Guadalupe offers classes in dance, music, video production and visual arts.

After Rodriguez retired in 1998, current Executive Director, María Elena Torrálva, began carrying the torch of the Guadalupe into the next century. Torrálva, who grew up in the neighborhood still laments the disconnection of the Westside from the city. "We are three minutes from downtown and a world away," she said. "The neighborhood stills looks to the Center as a magnet bringing people to this part of town. But we still need a spark. And we are making one." The symbolic spark Torrálva refers to is a planned mural on the side of the theater facing Guadalupe Street. Designed by Westside native and internationally recognized artist, Jesse Trevino, this 10 by 40 foot ceramic-tile mural and *veladora* (candleholder) will feature the image of la Virgen de Guadalupe. Plans also include a rose garden in front of the mural that will be grown from cuttings contributed by community residents. Furniture made by local crafts people will be placed in the garden so visitors can go there to meditate, pray and chat. "There is a need for some form of art that speaks out, that says something about the community," said Trevino in the *San Antonio Express-News*. "This is a symbol that I think will energize the community."

The Art of the People

According to Catholic belief, the Virgen de Guadalupe appeared to Juan Diego, an indigenous convert, in Mexico on December 12, 1531. Torrálva says the image of the dark-skinned madonna with mestizo features clothed in a robe of stars is an appropriate symbol for the community and for the Guadalupe. "It is such an incredibly important cultural icon that it goes beyond being a religious symbol." Throughout the Westside, the lines between artistic, religious and cultural symbols often blur and overlap resulting in icons such as the Virgin of Guadalupe appearing as often on car windows and biceps as in churches.

Indeed, recognized symbolic imagery is ever-present in the artistic richness of the Westside. Although much of the art-making that happens never sees the walls of a gallery or museum, it is thoroughly integrated into the everyday beautification of the homes and yards that make up what some urban planners call Mexican American "housescapes." A turn down any one of the smaller streets branching off of Guadalupe leads to fenced-in yard after fenced-in yard decorated with small shrines, ironwork and sculpture. A 1986 exhibit at the San Antonio Museum of Art entitled *Art Among Us/Arte Entre Nosotros* was the first of its kind to exhibit and examine this folk art within the Mexican American community.

Folk art has long been defined by anthropologists like Clifford Geertz as part of a cultural system in which the continuation of traditional art forms is inseparable from the identity of the community in which it exists. And while many of San Antonio's Westside residents don't call themselves artists, the creation of beautiful objects for the home and yard displays a unique aesthetic immediately recognizable to community members. Some crafts such as *banderillas* (paper cutting), *cascarones* (confetti-filled eggs,) and *piñatas* can be handed down through generations. Much of the folk art has roots in the Spanish-Mexican heritage of the city. Iron gates and leatherwork can be traced to early mission settlements, while cement sculpture and murals own more to factors of urbanization and the Mexican migration period of the 20th century. Additional art such as home altars and *palma bendita* (blessed woven palm fronds) maintain symbolic ties between earthly and heavenly religious. Especially common are *capillas* (yard shrines) or *nichos* (niches). Many were dedicated in honor of specific saints or virgins that fulfilled prayers for the safe return of fathers, husbands, and sons after WWII or the Korean War. These shrines face the street to celebrate the Catholic faith of a family and to honor in the shrine the patron saint or virgen in the shrine who granted the prayer.

According to cultural anthropologist Americo Paredes, folklore helps create a feeling of unity that enhances the dignity of any community and helps them to face with greater confidence the challenges of what can feel like a hostile world. On the Westside, this struggle for both survival and maintenance of a unique cultural unity has resulted in a distinctive aesthetic. As with the adaptation of the accordion for conjunto music, many members of the community rely on their creative ability to use what is at hand. The

curators of the SAMA *Art Among Us* Show call this a "bits and pieces" aesthetic. Some art-making materials are purchased from the counters of modern department stores, while other bits are salvaged from the baggage of recent Mexican immigrants or literally scavenged among the nooks and crannies of city life. This pervasive beautifying of the yard with flowers and figurines, tile and cement work, creates a look that is the Westside's own.

Latino Leaders in the Barrio

Three of the most nationally recognized and prominent Latino leaders resided in or hailed from the Westside or Southside of San Antonio. These three men, Henry Cisneros, Henry B. Gonzalez, and Willie C. Velasquez are known for their leadership in the national realm of politics and voting rights and for their dedicated involvement in the restoration of the predominately Latino Westside and Southside neighborhoods.

The first Latino mayor of a major U.S. city, Henry Cisneros was born on November 11, 1947 in Westside San Antonio. His family has a long history in the American Southwest as the Spanish gave his father's ancestors land grants in New Mexico almost three hundred years ago. His mother's father participated in the Mexican Revolution in the early 1900's and then fled to Texas. Cisneros graduated from Central Catholic High School at sixteen and attended Texas A&M University where he received a bachelor degree in city management and a master's degree in urban planning. Soon afterward he moved to Washington D.C. and became the youngest person ever to be named a White House Fellow (a graduate student who serves as an assistant to a member of the president's cabinet or White House staff). He then earned a Master's degree in Public Administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. In 1975 he returned to San Antonio and won a seat on city council and became the youngest councilperson in the city's history. He served for a total of six years and then in 1981 became mayor of San Antonio. He led renovation and restoration movements on the Westside and worked hard to diversify San Antonio's workforce by attracting large corporations to the downtown, Southside, and Westside areas of the city. President Clinton appointed him as the secretary of Housing and Urban Development in 1992. He later resigned from the position in 1997 and became the president of Univisión, the largest Spanish-language television network in the United States. In 2000 he returned to San Antonio where he is still highly regarded as one of the most prominent Latino leaders in the history of the city. Presently, he is running a real estate business that builds affordable housing for low- to mid-income families.

Henry B. González was the first Latino Representative from Texas to serve and served longer than any other Latino in Congress. Born on May 3, 1916, González graduated from Thomas Jefferson High School and later with a law degree from St. Mary's University School of Law. In 1953 he won a seat on City Council, serving as Mayor pro-tempore for part of his first term. While in City Council he spoke against segregation of public facilities that lead to the passing of desegregation ordinances by the council. In

1956 he was elected to the State Senate and was subsequently reelected and served until 1961. While in office, he and Senator Abraham Kazen held a thirty-six hour filibuster, the longest filibuster in the history of the Texas Legislature. They prohibited the passing of eight out of ten racial segregation bills that were aimed at circumventing the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. González was then elected to the U.S. House of Representatives to replace Paul J. Kilday (D-Texas). In 1961 he was elected with over half of the votes and continued to fill this seat until 1998 when he resigned due to failing health. In all his years of federal service, González received nearly 80% of his constituency's vote. His district included most of the Westside of San Antonio where he was seen visiting churches, neighborhood restaurants, schools, and other public facilities. His federal appointments include: Chairman of the House Assassinations Committee (from which he later resigned) to investigate the murder of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr.; Chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development; Chairman of the Banking, Financing and Urban Affairs Committee; and Chairman of the Banking Committee's Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance. He also served seven times as House Delegate to the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Conference and received numerous awards and accolades including honorary doctorates from St. Mary's University and Our Lady of the Lake University. González passed away on November 29, 2000; his son, Charlie took over his seat and was re-elected to the 106th Congress.

Born on May 9, 1944 in Florida, Willie Velasquez was the founder of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (originally called the Citizens' Voter Research and Education Project), which was instrumental in raising the number of registered Latino voters and officeholders during the 1970's, 80's and 90's. As a child he moved to San Antonio with his family and attended Edgewood Elementary, Holy Rosary Catholic School, and Central Catholic High School. After obtaining a B.A. in economics from St. Mary's University in San Antonio and pursuing graduate work in the same field, Velasquez helped organize the United Farm Workers in the Rio Grande Valley during the 1960's. He helped found the Mexican American Youth Organization at St. Mary's in 1967, served as the first statewide coordinator in the same year of *El Movimiento Social de la Raza Unida* party, the forerunner to the Raza Unida Party, a political third party for Latinos. In 1969, he helped found and served as Executive Director of the Mexican American Unity Council, also located in the Westside of San Antonio. Finally, in 1971 he began his work with registering Latino voters in South Texas and continued to lead this movement and the research and investigation of Latino voting trends (in the form of the Southwest Voter Institute) until his death in 1988, days before he was scheduled to introduce then Democratic presidential candidate, Michael Dukakis. Nearly 2,300 people attended his rosary and another 1,400 honored him at a special Mass at St. Mary's Church. He is remembered as the man behind the phrase, *¡Su voto es su voz!* ("Your vote is your voice"). Public schools, community centers, and now the Southwest Voter Institute all carry his name in honor of his great contributions to the Latino community. He also was honored posthumously with a Medal of Freedom, the greatest accolade a

private citizen can receive from the U.S. government, by President Bill Clinton on September 29, 1995.

Emma Tenayuca and the Pecan Shellers Strike

In the 1920's and 30's the Westside of San Antonio was home to a majority Mexican American population many of whom worked as pecan shellers. Next door to the Progresso Theatre on Guadalupe Street, pecan shellers reported to work as early as 6 a.m. in the morning and left as late as 8 p.m. This pecan shelling company was one of the only in the city owned and operated by a local Mexican American family. Other companies on the Westside and Southside were owned by Anglo American businessmen who lived in wealthier areas of the city. These pecan-shelling companies employed over 20,000 young, Mexican-American women who worked in small, dingy rooms with hardly any ventilation and were underpaid by the owners. These women provided half of the nation's pecan crop, as San Antonio was the "pecan capital" of the U.S.; yet, they received only $2.25 a week for 40-48 hours of work. In 1938 these women would go on strike to demand better working conditions and higher wages. They would be led by the infamous Emma Tenayuca.

Emma Teneyuca was born on December 21, 1916 in San Antonio. She led the Pecan Shellers Strike in 1938 at the age of 21, only five years after helping to found the Worker's Alliance, an organization for the unemployed. The strike lasted for several months after which a national minimum wage level was established. Unfortunately, many workers lost their jobs soon after to machines that were cheaper to maintain for the owners than paying workers a minimum wage. Tenayuca had been involved in politics as a young child as she would accompany her father to Plaza Zacate (now Milam Park) where they would read Spanish-language papers published in San Antonio that discussed the revolution in Mexico. At the plaza, Tenayuca also overheard discussions about wage discrimination against fellow Mexican-Americans and about city politics. In an interview she says, "…what it meant to be a Mexican in San Antonio…There were no bus drivers that were Mexicans when I was growing up. The only Mexican workers employed by the City Public Service and the Water Board were laborers, ditch diggers…I came into contact with many, many families who had grievances, who had not been paid. I was perhaps eight or nine years old at a time." As time went on, Tenayuca became a member in the local Communist Party. A mayor-approved rally, led by her and the party at the Municipal Auditorium was protested by local residents who created a riot outside the facility and then tried to use violence to stop the rally. Tenayuca left San Antonio soon after this incident as she not only could not find work but was also receiving death threats daily. After living in California for some time, Tenayuca returned to San Antonio in the 1960's and taught reading at a public school. She passed away on July 23, 1999 at the age of 82 years. Her contribution to San Antonio workers is honored on a mural in Southtown, painted by local artist and activist Terry Ybañez.

The Writing on the Wall

Since the heyday of the 1970's Chicano movement, public art murals have been a vivid form of cultural and political expression in many cities with a large Latino population. Jacinto Quirárte, Professor Emeritus in Department of Art and Art History University of Texas-San Antonio, explained that Chicano artists wanted to paint murals for the people so they went directly to the *barrios* (neighborhoods.) The contemporary making of murals is often still a community-based process that combines compromise, cooperation and creativity.

In the early 80's, the Community Cultural Arts Organization began the first of their more than 200 murals in the Cassiano Homes public housing development. Anastacio "Tache" Torres, then a social worker with the group, thought that the mural project might keep some of the local kids out of trouble. Now the head of San Antonio Parks and Recreation Department's Mural Project, Torres remembers the early days when he would take kids to meet with older residents to hear stories of the area and gather ideas for murals. "Most depict Mexican American historic and religious figures because that's what the people wanted." (see endnotes for listing of mural locations)

Community Cultural Arts Organization eventually disbanded, but the mural project of San Anto Cultural Arts continues to produce diverse, vivid community-generated murals. In 1991, San Anto Cultural Arts Executive Director Manuel Castillo, returned home to San Antonio after a college stint in Austin and went to work at Inner City Development. "I just wanted to work in the community," recalled Castillo." "I didn't really know how it would shape itself." This focus on community-based work and openness to the needs and changes of that community continue to characterize San Anto's work. Early on, Castillo met local artist Cruz Ortiz. The two became the nucleus of a core of young volunteer activists committed to making murals. As Ortiz explains, "Our hope was to make it a real neighborhood-based structure where community members are not only asked for input but also asked to participate. There are talented, intelligent people in this neighborhood who are capable of making decisions and communicating their ideas. They just have to be asked."

Some nineteen murals later, the first mural of 2001 was completed on the corner of San Patricio and Trinity. In many ways, the murals are a testament to San Anto's artistic response tragic to neighborhood issues. According to Ortiz, " We need to listen to the community. They know what to do. Take the case of the Peace and Remembrance Mural at San Patricio and Trinity, which is dedicated to those in the community who have been victims of violence. A group of youth volunteers went door to door in the neighborhoods surrounding the mural site to gather names of those who have died due to violence. After only two blocks they had five pages of names. They asked me, 'is this enough?' We did this mural because we deal with real issues in the community."

San Fernando Cemetery #1 and #2

Past the modern city of San Antonio we drive over uneven roads, winding in and out until lying far Southwest of International and Great Northern Depot we see a maze of white and black crosses of wood and white stone, curiously in contrast with the very modern freight cars one can see on the track. There is a sacredness and reverence in the atmosphere that tells us that this is holy ground."

San Antonio Light from Nov 4, 1901

Opened in 1851, San Fernando Cemetery #1 is the oldest of the city cemeteries. Buried here are veterans of the Texas Revolution, early San Antonio Settlers and fighters in the Indian Wars. Most graves once had wooden markers that have since decayed. What remains are crosses of iron pipe, cement and native limestone markers. There is speculation that some of the dead from the Battle of Alazan in 1813 were buried in a mass grave on the site. However, the oldest known burial is Jose Francisco Ruiz (4/G/4) who died Jan 4, 1840. Ruiz was first buried in San Fernando Cathedral then re-interred in San Fernando Cemetery. The State of Texas added a new stone in 1936.

Other San Antonio notables buried in the cemetery include former mayor Bryan Callaghan (16/M/25) whose stone notes his Irish birth and city surveyor Francois Giraud (8/K/60). The stone of Mathilde Ramierez (4/J/30) is the only one in both English and Spanish. Mike Yazbak (4/V/24), an early Lebanese settler is one of a number of stones carved in Arabic, while the stone of Jacob Kiolbass (16/D/46) is the only surviving stone in Polish. More notorious than noteworthy is the grave of Frank Cadena (4/E/44) who was the last man to hang in Texas. And still sadly mysterious are the graves of the three Hall children, Edward, Timothy, Joseph who all died the same day, May 29, 1884, of an accidental drowning in their home. Also buried is noted Tejano statesman Colonel Jose Navarro who signed the Texas Declaration of Independence, and John Twohig, a banker and participant in the Mier Expedition, who hosted such notables as Robert E. Lee, Sam Houston, Zach Taylor and General Ulysses Grant here in San Antonio.

Located on the eastern half of city lot #202, the land for San Fernando #1 was surveyed in 1849 and 1850 and was sold to a Mr. Lecompte de Watine on Dec 31, 1852. Mr. de Watine sold a part of lot 202 to Right Rev. Bishop Odine on May 18, 1855. This portion of land is sections 15, 16, 11, 12 and parts of 7 and 8 where most of the earliest burials are found. The earliest surviving stones date to 1853 but the first use is undetermined. Church burial records for the old *Campo Santo* ended in 1860 and those recorded for San Fernando #1 begin in 1869. Several sections from the old documents show up in the new. The Gonzalez family members have been caretakers since 1860. In an interview, Gonzalez reported the curious information that in the 1920s, it cost $12 for temporary burial, $7 for opening and reclosing, $5 for a ten-year burial. and $17 to buy a stone for the plot.

If San Fernando #1 is a shrine to those who have passed on, #2 is a testament to the lively ongoing relationship Mexican Americans in San Antonio have with those whom they

have lost. Come late October and early November, Castroville Road literally explodes with the eye-popping displays of flower vendors hawking wares of every possible color and texture. Fresh zinnias, marigolds, bright red cockscomb and miniature yellow and purple poms are lined up alongside artificial arrangements of all sizes. This brilliant display is preparation for All Saints Day, which honors the lives of all the saints on November 1, and All Souls Day, which honors the remembrance of family member and friends on November 2. During these two days, the cemetery transforms from a village of the dead to a jostling, hustling city of the living - up to 30,000 of them - whose cars and trucks fill the small roads inside the cemetery. The days are spent telling stories, eating together and tidying up the graves. But *El Día de los Muertos* (Day of the Dead or All Souls Day) is not the only time that friends and family spend time in the cemetery. Throughout the year, especially during religious and secular holidays like Halloween, Christmas, Valentine's Day, Easter, Mother's Day and Father's Day, visitors to San Fernando take part in energetic and elaborate grave decoration. A stuffed Garfield or a tea set may rest on a child's grave while a bright balloon with the words I-LUV-YOU bobs in the wind. It is not odd to see pumpkins, Christmas trees and Valentines Day cards. Some holidays, the graves literally sparkle with tinsel. During these days, cars and trucks jam the narrow traffic lanes that provide access to each block of the ninety-three acre complex. Whether elaborate or simple, lively or solemn, the ritual of gravesite decorating and gathering brings the living families together to creatively grieve and celebrate those whom they have lost.

Our Lady of the Lake University

Indeed, the artistic life of the Westside is a series of bridges: between religion and art, and between life and death. At Our Lady of the Lake University, Linda Payne Buton is trying to build yet more bridges, between the community and the university and between writers of all kinds. Since 1995, the University has hosted the San Antonio Poetry Festival on its campus. According to Payne-Buton, "The goal of the festival is not only to bring in headliner poets but to give local poets a welcoming audience on campus. All events are free and open to the community as well." Payne-Buton, who used to coordinate Spanish-speaking services for the San Antonio Public Library, celebrates this kind of community building. "There is a movement in universities these days to make town-grown partnerships between academic institutions and the communities that surround them. We see this festival as that kind of partnership and also as a way to use poetry in all kinds of ways to interest people in the written word." Previous festivals have featured music, dramatic readings and high-tech interactive poetry presentations. The festival also features "open mic" events to give exposure to emerging poets. The festival also takes featured poets into local Catholic school, where they will work with teachers to develop a poetry curriculum for grades 1-12.

According to Payne-Buton, "My goal is to expose them all to as much as possible but also to open the door to those outside our walls. We are a bridge within the community but it is not just a one way bridge." And why poetry? "To me it is difficult to lie in poetry. If your goal is to build a bridge, it must be a bridge made of truth."

Centro Cultural Aztlan

Centro Cultural Aztlan is interested in a specific truth-telling, what Director Malena Gonzales-Cid calls the truth of Mexican American heritage. According to Gonzales-Cid, "We are a cultural agency. Our work is to fill a void in the expression of Mexican American culture and most importantly to celebrate that culture." Gonzales-Cid and Centro Arts Director, Ramon Vásquez y Sánchez, have spent nearly 20 years working towards that goal. Located in the heart of the Westside in Las Palmas Shopping Center, Centro Cultural Aztlan also lives out its commitment to making Mexican American art and culture accessible to all.

When Centro Aztlan first started, the goal of what Vásquez y Sánchez calls re-education was paramount. "That was one of our early philosophies, to claim what you are, to admit it, to celebrate it and to move forward." The center's first event in 1972 was an international immigration conference. A few years later they wanted to focus on something more specifically Tejano than Mexican and decided to commemorate the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (which gave much of the current-day Southwest to the U.S.) Every February 2nd since then, Centro Atzlan has observed the day with events highlighting positive contributions of Mexican Americans. Fifteen years ago, Centro Aztlan opened the Expresión Gallery. While some might call this strip mall an odd place for a gallery, Vásquez y Sánchez says that is exactly the point. "As Hispanics, we are an invisible people. You don't learn about us in the schools. Our service is this gallery. We are about building strong Mexican American families so we locate ourselves where families are. It is another nation over here. Kids don't get to go to the Witte if they are not in school. This is a people's place to see art."

In recent years, the focus of the center has continued to shift more towards the arts, but the directors insist the political origins have not been lost. "We are a community walk-in center of the broadest sense," said Gonzales-Cid. "The arts are just one tool we use to generate empowerment. We also have health fairs in the gallery, community meetings and lowrider summits." Indeed, the yearly lowrider show that the center sponsors, is its most popular event and biggest fundraiser. This gathering of souped-up, elaborately detailed cars was initially denied city funding as "art." Explained Vásquez y Sánchez, "They said, 'No way, it's a car show,' so I changed the wording to 'mobile public art' and we got started." The center now has approximately ten exhibits a year including the annual Superhero Exhibit for which school children design their own invented superhero, the Youth Mini-Mural Exhibit, the Egg as an Object of Art Exhibit and a celebration of *Día de Los Muertos*." The center calls their gallery a "teaching gallery" and welcomes school groups. Vásquez y Sánchez emphasizes, "Our plan is and has always been to provide a place that honors the arts and Mexican American culture and that is accessible to all."

Conclusion

There are countless ways to access and enjoy the Mexican culture for which San Antonio is famous. Unfortunately, many visitors stop at the “southwestern buffet” offered at a hotel brunch and never venture out to taste a bit from the buffet of opportunity the real live Westside has to offer. Whether catching a conjunto jam, taking in community theater, admiring the shine on a lowrider hood or simply daydreaming in a cemetery that time almost forgot, the Westside is not another country. It is a part of this city, a part which continues to define for itself what it means to be Mexican-American, to be Texan, to be San Antonian.

Guide to Selected San Antonio Murals

Spanish Colonial
Mission Concepción 807 Mission Road – sunburst ceiling in the friary

WPA
'Importance of San Antonio in Texas History.' U.S. Post Office 615 E. Houston

Juan O' Gorman
'Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas' Lila Cockrell Theater

San Anto Cultural Arts
'Salvacion,' El Paso and Chupaderas Streets
'Comprando y Prestando,' San Jacinto and Guadalupe Streets
Education,' Guadalupe and Chupaderas Streets
'Familia y Cultural es Vida,' South Calaveras and Guadalupe Streets
'Mano a Mano,' Pinto and West Commerce Streets
'Insomne De Amor,' Fran Fran and South Zarzamora Streets
'Una Mesa Para la Gente,' North Zarazamora and Salinas Streets
'8 stages of the life of a Chicana,' Guadalupe and Chupaderas streets
'Leyenda Aztecas,' Tampico and Brazos streets
'Basta con la Violencia,' Glass and Nogalitos streets
(San Anto Cultural Arts offers community mural tours by appointment. Cost is $5 per person. Group rates available. Call 226-7466)

Jesse Trevino
'Spirit of Healing' Santa Rosa Children's Hospital Downtown

Terry Ybanez
Tribute to Emma Tenayuca, Vance and South Presa streets
'Corazones de la Comunidad,' Vance and South Presa streets
Tribute to Rosita Fernandez, Carolina and South Presa streets

Robert Tatum
Mission Trails Mural South Presa Handy Andy Supermarket

Community Cultural Arts Organization (over 200 murals in Cassiano Homes)

Building #3: Honors Cleto Rodriguez, a Westside Congressional Medal of Honor Winner
Building #8: Henry B. Gonzalez, former US Congressman
Building #10: C.O.P.S. (Communities Organized for Public Service), a grassroots citizen's group organized in 1973
Building #12: Archbishop Patrick Flores of the San Antonio Archdiocese
Building #13: The National Farmworkers Union under Cesar Chavez
Building #16: Pancho Villa and the Americans. The blindfolded American soldier in the palm of Villas hand represents General John J. Pershing's fruitless search for Villa in northern Mexico from 1916-1917
Building #17: The 1910 Mexican Revolution. Zapata to the South. Villa to the North.
Building #20: The beginning of the 1910 Revolution. Central figure is Josephina Dominguez, wife of the governor of the State of Queretaro who sent a rider to warn Captain Allende and Father Hidalgo when the revolutionary plot was discovered.
Building #25: Honors the women who fought in the 1910 Revolution.
Building #30: Father Hidalgo leading the 1810 Mexican Revolution and later standing in front of a firing squad.
Building #36: The Conquistadors watch the Aztec capital burning.
Building #42: Cortes and Montezuma.
Building #43: The Spaniards arriving off Veracruz
Building #55: Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of the Mexican people.
Building #56: Honors conjunto music with Vincent Van Gogh on guitar.
Buidling #57: Represents education
Building #58: Good Friday representing hope. The city is darkness. Christ is lit.
Building #60: A series of figures stems from this building representing the community.
Building #61: Represents war. Serpents are the symbol of life in Axtec mythology. Here, the green serpent is life and the brown serpent is death. The latter turns Into barbed wire wrapping the city in trouble. The little altar in the middle is like a candle that families would light for the safe return of the soldier. The whole scene is burning because of the problems that war brings.
Building #64: Represents the community working together toward something positive-building a city of gold.
Building #65: Shows the Flying Axtecs, a religious observance that now draws tourists.
Building #66: Honors Hispanic veterans from the various wars.
Buidling #67: Depicts the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the signing over of a large portion of the present Southwest to the United States.
Building #69: Shows the Spanish bringing Christianity to native peoples.
Building #70: Represents the Mexican American War
Building #81: The leaders of the 1910 Mexican Revolution; Zapata, Villa and Caranza
Building #83: Honors scouting.

(information found in San Antonio on Foot by Diane Capito, Texas Tech University Press 2nd Edition March 1998)

West Side / Murals
Bibliography

Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class San Antonio 1929-41
Richard A. Garcia College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 1991.

The Illusion of Inclusion: the Untold Political Story of San Antonio
Rodolfo Rosales Austin U of T Press 2000

Cemeteries and Gravemarkers:Voices of American Culture
Ed. By Richard Meyer, Ann Arbor Michigan UMI Research Press 1989.

Los Bexarenos Genealogical Society of San Antonio, TX
San Fernando Cemetery No. 1 Volume 1
History Tombstone Index SFC No. 1 First Edition 1993

Arte Entre Nosotros/Art Among Us – Mexican Folk Art of San Antonio by Pat Jasper and Kay Turner. Catalog for art show at the San Antonio Museum of Art
27 April – 15 June San Antonio Museum Association

The Folk Healer: The Mexican American Tradition of Curanderismo (Kingsville, Texas: Nieves Press, 1983.)

Mexican American Home Altars: Towards Their Interpretation by Kay F. Turner
In Aztlan, Vol. 13, pp. 309-325.

The Texas Mexican Conjunto – History of a Working Class Music, Manuel Pena Univ. of Texas Press

The Mexican American Orquesta-Manuel Pena University of Texas Press
Musica Tejana – Texas A&M Press

University of Texas at San Antonio
http://lonestar.utsa.edu/japuente/Rosita.html

The Handbook of Texas Online
www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online

Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822-1995
www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/congress

www.galegroup.com

Leyva, Yolanda Chávez, "Por la raza y para la raza": A Look at Tejana Activists, 1900-1998, UT San Antonio Hispanic Heritage Month, September 16, 1998
Personal Interviews:

Tache Torres
Juan Tejeda
Pedro Rodriguez
Maria Elena Torvala
Cruz Ortiz
Malena Gozalez-Cid
Ramon Vásquez y Sánchez
Manny Castillo

About the writer:

Jenny Browne has a bachelor's degree in African American studies from University of Wisconsin, Madison. She has worked and studied in Africa, Central America, Eastern Europe, and Asia as a travel correspondent. In San Antonio, she works as a journalist and as a poet in residence for the Texas Commission on the Arts, Arts San Antonio, and Gemini Ink. She was nominated for a 2000 Pushcart Prize and her poems will be featured with the other Texas poets in the Poetry Society of America's Poetry in Motion Project in Austin, Texas. Her first collection, Glass was published in 2000 by Pecan Grove Press.

About **Gemini Ink**:

When the Office of Cultural Affairs began to work on developing the Neighborhood Discovery Tours, it contracted with Gemini Ink to handle the researching, writing and editing of the manuscripts.

Gemini Ink is San Antonio's non-profit, literary arts center. It is located in new offices at 513 S. Presa, San Antonio, Texas 78205.
Their phone is 210-734-WORD (9673) or Toll-free 877-734-WORD (9673).
Fax is 210-737-0688 and email is info@geminiink.org

The mission of Gemini Ink is:

- to celebrate art in literature

- to expose as wide a segment of the area's population as possible to the best current and classical literature in an entertaining, educational and enlightening fashion
- to design a program of the humanities, involving professional performers from several artistic disciplines for each performance, including writers, actors, singers, musicians, and academic scholars
- to celebrate individual bodies of literature which identify with various cultural or ethnic groups, thereby encouraging cross-cultural acceptance
- to offer university-and master-level classes in various types of writing, literature, theory, philosophy, psychology, and the related arts